Means by which the Dorobo can acquire stock are: (1) By bridewealth: when a Nandi marries a Dorobo girl, her father gets the normal Nandi payment of one cow, one ox, and a varying number of goats. (When a Dorobo man marries a Nandi girl he has to find somehow the same amount of cattle.) (2) By gift exchange: a Nandi makes friends with a Dorobo, mainly to get honey, and after the first steps towards friendship has been taken, the Dorobo gives him some. Later the Nandi gives a goat, and the way is thus paved for the exchange of cattle. This exchange is independent of the honey, which is given by the Dorobo from time to time. This process of acquiring cattle is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by a previous exchange of gifts, for the Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is necessary to lead up to the final stage by a preparatory exchange of other things. So far the Nandi have been willing to exchange male stock only in this way; to get cows the Dorobo have had to rely on bridewealth. (3) The Nandi will sell goats for cash, but not (at least up to 1939) cattle. The Dorobo do not seem to want sheep; they had none in 1938, nor when I first knew them in 1927.

Inheritance

The general rule is that when a man dies, his goods are kept by his wife for handing over to his children if they are small, or they pass straight to them if grown up. When a man has neither wife nor children, his heirs are his brothers, his father's brothers' sons, or his mother's brothers' sons. Women do not inherit stock. Land rights in the forest pass to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the relatives termed *macokor* (see below, p. 62). Weapons are left to a brother, to a *macokor*, or to a clansman. Dogs are left to sons, or else to a brother or *macokor*. Goats are divided proportionately between sons, or pass to a brother or *macokor*. The proportion is roughly as follows, assuming that a man left seven goats and three sons: to eldest son, three; to second son, two; to youngest son, one; to his wife, one, this and its offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The theoretical division of cattle is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one, which reverts to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, bees, and weapons is done by men; domestic work by women. The main occupations are divided thus:

Men:	Women:
Making fire.	Building houses.
Hunting.	Collecting vegetable food.
Trapping.	Getting water and firewood.
Putting meat on to cook.	Looking after meat cooking.
Making honey-barrels.	Cooking other food.
Collecting honey.	Milking when there are cows.
Making weapons.	Making baskets.
Trading with the Nandi.	Preparing skins.
Getting coloured earth.	Making clothes, etc.
Cutting wood.	Care of the children.
Making fences.	Sweeping huts.
Preliminary heavy work in the cultivation.	Cultivation, all stages.

Children of both sexes help in weeding and herding stock; girls help with the housework and milking, though boys are allowed to milk till they are circumcised. This division is followed strictly with regard to the first nine male activities; but with the last three there is some overlapping; and the essential domestic work and cultivation are often done by men, especially when they are unmarried or live quite alone.

6:Huntingford E-S (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

they have been stock-owners for too short a time, and on too small a scale to have formulated *or developed any* cattle *customs* of their own; they do not think (like the Nandi) in terms of cattle; and their main efforts are at present concentrated on trying to acquire cattle. For the last, three ways are open to them, all slow and laborious: bride-payment, gift exchange, and purchase.

Bride-payment. A Dorobo whose daughter is married to a Nandi receives for her the number of stock that a Nandi would give for a girl of his own tribe, i.e. 1 cow and 1 ox or bull, together with a variable number of goats; and when a Dorobo marries a Nandi woman he has to pay at the same rate. Arap Keter acquired his cattle from the marriages of his three sisters: the eldest, Kapotikuany, was married while his father was still alive, and on the old man's death he inherited the cattle paid for her; the other two, Ceuum and Taprandic were married after their father's death, and the cattle for them (amounting in the case of Taprandic to 1 bull, 1 cow, and 5 goats) was paid to Arap Keter.

Gift exchange. Nandi from time to time make friends with Dorobo, *chiefly* for the purpose of getting honey. The first move after two men have come to regard each other as friends, *cowat*, is for the Dorobo to give the Nandi some honey, without expectation of any immediate return. After a time, the Nandi gives the Dorobo a goat, and thus the way is prepared for the handing over of cattle. Arap Minio became the friend of a Nandi at Ofleau called Kapkile, and eventually got from him an ox in exchange for a fur cloak; and on another occasion he got an ox in exchange for seven goats which he bought with his wages for working on a farm. Arap Koruen in his youth hunted at Kapiyet in Nandi, and shot *thirty* monkeys, from which he made fur cloaks which he exchanged for cattle. To-day he has *five* head of cattle which are herded for him by a Nandi named Kipkoeir arap Serem on Farm 1679: the Nandi looks after them in return for the use of their milk, Arap Koruen being given a small amount of it. This process of acquiring cattle is, of course, a form of purchase, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of forming a friendship by exchange of gifts first. The Nandi do not readily part with their cattle, and it is therefore necessary to lead up to the final stage, as the Dorobo regard it, by the preparatory exchange of other things. And as a method of acquiring cattle it is limited by the fact that the Nandi seem willing to exchange only male stock in this way, so that for female stock the Dorobo have to rely on bride-payment.

Purchase. The Nandi do not sell cattle to the Dorobo except as just described, that is, in the form of bride-payment or by exchange. But they will sell goats for cash. The Dorobo do not seem to care about sheep, for in 1939 none possessed any.

At the time of their move in 1937 the Dorobo were credited officially with a large number of cattle, some 2000 head in fact. But in 1939 the actual numbers that I saw and counted (and I have reason to believe that these were practically all they had) were very much smaller. The following list, while it may not be perhaps completely accurate, gives a truer idea of the real numbers. It will be noticed that there were few goats; some were undoubtedly

14 Huntingford E-A (1930-1939) 193
[P 191, A]
FLS Dunsbo FLS

Apart from the rule of exogamy, there are certain other marriage regulations:

1. A person may not marry anyone who comes into the *tiliet* or relationship (except F. Sis. D. D.), that is, anyone addressed by a relationship term, or as *oreyon*.
2. A man may not marry his wife's sister because such unions are thought to be sterile.
3. A person may marry into the clan of his or her M., M.M., Br.W., or Sis.H.

Pre-marital intercourse with anyone in the *tiliet* is forbidden; but with a clansfellow condoned, though not approved of.

The shortage of women and the lack of wealth have resulted in the Dorobo being largely monogamous, though if a man has the wealth, he may have more than one wife. The *hedua* (bride-price)[1] is said to have been formerly 4 oxen for slaughtering; today it is 1 cow, 1 ox and 4 goats, which go to the bride's father and become his personal property. This *hedua* is high for a people who own little or no stock; but by means of gift exchange cattle can be obtained from the Nandi (See below, p. 192.) Rarity of divorce is another result of this shortage, and since a wife is something comparatively hard to come by, she is more cherished than is usual among other peoples where women are plentiful. The inability to get wives has produced a tendency to what may be called *mondeit*, that is, unmarried men (some of whom never marry) live entirely alone, and do all their domestic work, as well as hunting and cultivation, without assistance.

III

ECONOMIC LIFE.

A. Environment.

The home of the Kapchepkendi Dorobo is the western end of the high ground which occupies the country between Eldama Ravine and the Nandi escarpment. The greater part of it is covered with dense forest, and is crossed on the S. W. corner by two parallel paths from Kipkorom in the north to Ndoroton in the south. The forest begins about the 8,000 ft. contour, and to reach it from any side entails a steep climb of

[1] On this term, see "Bride-price in antiquity," *MAN*, 1931, 187.

14.Huntingford E-S (1930-1939)1942
FLS Dorobo FLS

[P. 196, A]

Economic life to-day is centred more and more on the *shamba* than on hunting. 241 423

The family group is interdependent: the men trap, make tools, protect the family; the women look after house and children, and prepare food; the children, while dependent on their parents for existence, help them with the *imbaret* and live-stock, and in various other small ways. 592

There is little specialization, since all men can make traps and honey-barrels, and all women can make baskets. Joint-production occurs in (1) house-building, when the whole family takes part; (2) cultivation; (3) in hunting and in digging coloured earth. Food produced by the family is shared by husband, wife, and children, and also by the husband's and the wife's parents. Meat caught by trapping is divided between the trapper's family and the other people living in the settlement. Vegetable foods are not shared thus, since they can be got by all. Hospitality is given to visiting relatives, clansmen, age-mates (though they do not sleep with their host's wife), and even to stray travellers, once their good faith is established. Beer is drunk at social gatherings of men or women, at clan councils, and on ceremonial occasions. And just as meat is distributed in a particular way (p. 193), so with tobacco: a man who acquires some gives it first to his father, then to his wife's father, and lastly to his brothers and clansmen, if it will go as far. [462] [342] [241] [224] 592 421 [224] [244] 574 273 276 [431]

The typical Dorobo hut, *kochonget*, is extremely simple, being no more than a framework of sticks covered with leaves, and a hide on top. They are now building larger and better huts of Nandi type, sometimes with unplastered walls; and an intermediate form may be seen, with a nearly flat roof. 342 [177]

D. THE MAGICO-RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF ECONOMIC

That the Dorobo had hunting magic is certain: old men say that some had it, while others had none; my friend Arap Miniŋ, for example, says he was one of those who had none. Since hunting is the one phase of Dorobo life that appears to be gone for ever as a result of government action (in spite of sporadic individual activities), this important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. 224 [178] [648]

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Asá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Asá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [202] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl, [858] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people [825] say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is 843 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp • 431 and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/261 cont./

is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is regarded as puni-andgt, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would